

SIBLINGS

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the common experiences of early childhood. As children they sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is another ground for their close identification. They do not work (as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual

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him there, drinking and putting on airs. I remembered that⁵⁹⁶ his brother Vasili drew blood from my brother. I could not⁵⁷⁷ stand it.' The consequences for the other man was a head⁵⁹⁸ wound from a broken bottle before the two men were parted⁶²⁷ and expelled from the wedding. It has to be remembered that fights and brawls in which individuals have the duty of both active and passive solidarity are relatively frequent, but that killings are rare.

The second category of affairs of honour concerns the sexual⁵⁹⁶ conduct of women. The family has exclusive rights over the⁵⁷⁷ sexual capacities of its women, and in this respect women⁶³¹ always remain *in loco filiae*. Here we are concerned not only⁶⁰⁴ with external attack as in the spilling of blood, but also, some-⁶²⁷ times, with treason from within when a daughter or sister betrays her virginity or when a wife voluntarily commits adultery. The will of a woman is vulnerable and her sensuality is evil. She is the weak link in the chain. For this very reason her sexual purity is an appropriate symbol of the family's honour. Its destruction, although itself a dishonourable act, in some way places the destroyer and his family in a position of superiority; for they have demonstrated that the woman is willing to abandon sacred loyalties for the gratification of her sensual feelings by a stranger. In these circumstances vengeance becomes primarily an act of purification. A father (or brother) must first destroy his daughter (or sister) and only afterwards turn his attention to the lover. Similarly, a husband ought first to kill a wife taken in adultery and then the paramour.

If it seems surprising that such violence may occur in a group⁵⁹⁶ whose jural and affective solidarity I have been at some pains⁵⁷⁷ to stress, this nevertheless seems to be a characteristic of small⁶²⁷ groups whose solidarity is very intense. In the mutual identification of one member with another, there is no flexibility to contain widely divergent interests. We have seen that brothers, if they cannot reach unanimous decisions, must part company. Similarly, the association of family members demands absolute loyalty; the treachery of one member disrupts the group in such a way that this member's very presence is a denial of the qualities and attitudes on which the harmony of its internal relations depends. The objectionable element must, therefore, be excised. This is the only way in which the family honour can be

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already been examined: homicide, the drawing of blood, ⁵⁹⁷
verbal insult, seduction, rape, and broken betrothal. ⁵⁹¹

Honour, then, is a condition of integrity, of being 'untouched' by this kind of attack, insult, or betrayal. The integrity of a family and its equality (at least) of status is recognized when others take care not to give offence in these particular ways. If they do gratuitously commit an outrage against a family, they make it clear that they consider its social existence of no account. In that case, whether the violation is accidental or not, the outraged family must answer at once, and with violence, ^[627]
if its reputation is to survive.

But honour is not only to be considered in terms of the various ⁵⁷⁷
external situations where it may be lost. The intrinsic principles of honour refer to two sex-linked qualities that distinguish the ideal moral characters of men and women: these are the manliness (*ἀνδρισμός*) of men, and the sexual shame (*ντροπή*) of women. With the exception only of persons of the lowest lineage, all Sarakatsani are assumed to possess these qualities 'by nature', although in the fallen condition of this world a reputation for manliness or shame is easily lost. In this sense it is not difficult for a man to move in a direction opposite to the true inclinations of his nature. One aspect of honour, then, is a struggle of self-discipline over cowardice and sensuality, flaws of animal nature that continually threaten to limit the natural nobility of man.

In general, the qualities of manliness are obvious and familiar. 'To be a man' the individual must show himself to be courageous and fearless. He must be strong in body and spirit. But there is also a nuance of meaning peculiar to a community where values are agonistic and social reputation is frequently at risk. In these circumstances a man must have boundless self-confidence in his own powers. Where few men owe him more than conditional support, and the great majority none at all, he must rely on himself. Manliness implies not only the condition of being courageous but the ability of a man to do something efficient and effective about the problems and dangers which surround him. For in this complex of values results count for almost everything and intentions for very little.

The physical characteristics of manliness are important. A man must be *βαρβάρτος*, that is, well endowed with testicles ^[p31]
and the strength that is drawn from them.

577 and the strength that is drawn from them. The word also describes a certain ruthless ability in any form of endeavour. Here again we see the 'efficient' aspect of manliness. But *παρβάρτος* is in no sense a moral term, and in other contexts it may describe the dishonourable conduct of a man who rapes a woman or bullies weaker men. The manliness that is related to honour requires this physical basis, yet it must discipline animal strength and passions to its own ideal ends.

577 The quality required of women in relation to honour is
 831 shame (*ντροπή*), particularly sexual shame. Subjectively the
 834 woman's sexual shame is not simply a fear of external sanctions;
 562 it is an instinctive revulsion from sexual activity, an attempt in dress, movement, and attitude, to disguise the fact that she possesses the physical attributes of her sex. Maidens must be virgins, and even married women must remain virginal in thought and expression. But honour is always something imputed by others. In these matters the individual woman can never retreat within her own conscience. Her honour depends upon the reputation which the community is willing to concede, not upon the evidence of facts in any case difficult to determine. Therefore she protects her honour most effectively by conforming in every outward aspect of her deportment to a code of sexual shame. The woman who succeeds in this is *τίμα* and *τιμμένη*, honourable and honoured; but, if she fails, she is *ἀδύνατος*, shameless, and *σέλλα*, a bitch, a woman without restraint, whose behaviour is compounded of the reflexes of her animal instincts. She becomes 'used' (*μεταχειρισμένη*), if only on the lips of men, and therefore 'lost' (*χαμένη*).

579 The sexual shame of women is no doubt related to the ambi-
 562 valent attitude of the Sarakatsani towards sexual relations
 593 even in marriage. But it is also consistent with the importance
 831 of legitimacy as the essential qualification for membership in
 684 the family group. The sexual, reproductive, and working capacities of women belong exclusively to their families; and there is no more certain way of defiling the honour of another family than by seducing one of its women, particularly since mixed attitudes of awe and shame surround the sexual act and the reproductive life process. There is double cause for shame. Something of intimate spiritual value is rifled and desecrated by a stranger while at the same time the moral

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blame for this loss is generally ascribed by the community to the sensuality of the woman and, by extension, to the moral weakness of her kinsmen.

This kind of shame is a quality that is thought to descend in the female line from mother to daughter, but its loss always implicates the honour of the men of the family, reflecting on the manliness of the husband, and, more generally, on the whole social personality of brothers and, particularly, sons. The woman is soiled, λερωμένη, and blackened, μουντζουρωμένη; and she marks with her dishonour all those who are close to her through kinship or marriage. Essentially, sexual shame is felt to be an inborn moral characteristic, part of a woman's personality. Conventional deportment requires training of course; but however thorough her education the true character of a naturally shameless woman is certain to emerge, for fundamentally sexual shame is a question of heredity. If it becomes known that a young maiden has been struck by her father or brother because of some immodesty, people laugh and ask rhetorically what good do they imagine this will do since the fault proceeds from her mother.

Clearly manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour. The manliness of the men in any family protects the sexual honour of its women from external insult or outrage. The women must have shame if the manliness of the men is not to be dishonoured. We saw in an earlier chapter how the dishonour of a mother cannot be remedied by the sons. It is true that when a man kills a daughter who has lost her honour he wins the grudging respect of the community; yet, at the same time, the dishonour of the family is never entirely forgotten. Even when the rape of a sister has been avenged, a measure of dishonour remains, the dishonour of the girl's failure to preserve her virginity. The reputation for manliness of the men of the family is a deterrent against external outrage, but it cannot entirely repair the damage if such an attack against its women proves successful. It is, then, not surprising that the worst insult that can be aimed at a man is to use the name of his sister, or mother, in an unpleasant sexual context.

Honour considered as the possession by men and women of these qualities is the attempt to relate existence to certain

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are rigidly segregated, and the categorical opposition is evident. For in this context women are always a potential threat to the honour of men whether the latter are kinsmen or strangers. Thus unrelated persons of opposite sex seldom speak except to exchange a curt and conventional 'good day' if they meet on a narrow path. Although a man calls out a greeting to an unmarried girl, she keeps her eyes on the ground and never replies. At weddings unrelated persons of opposite sex, even though they are members of the same kindred of the bride or the groom, may not speak to one another. On these occasions the two sexes hold their feasting and dancing separately. In recent years at village festivals unrelated Sarakatsani of both sexes sometimes dance in the same ring but a woman is always flanked on both sides by men to whom she is related. p34
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Within the group of related families which co-operate in the management of sheep, there are occasions when this opposition is expressed in accepted attitudes of sexual solidarity. If a number of women are working together on a common task such as the building of a hut, a group of men with nothing better to occupy their time will stand about smoking while they freely criticize their women's craftsmanship, and even revile them for their more general faults of ugliness and cunning. From time to time one of the more senior women will attempt some reply. 'Men', she calls out, 'are lazy good-for-nothings who do nothing but talk.' These exchanges begin in tones of banter but sometimes, in the later stages, they find sharp edges. In family life a favourite topic of evening conversation is a debate on the relative contributions and sacrifices which are made by the men and the women of the family for its well-being and security. This kind of talk is good-humoured but serves to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles. 562
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Women face a hard and merciless routine of work and suffering. *Camaderie* and the consciousness of a common fate help them to face it. This aspect of the solidarity of women is often expressed in the frequent discussion among those related by kinship or marriage of their common subjection to men in sexual activity. There is a great deal of bawdy reference to the male sex organs, and women constantly speak of their dislike of sexual intercourse and the absence of physical pleasure they find in it. 562
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562 find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding,
602 is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close
● 831 at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her
dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they
will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange
man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will
secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom
comes to her she will castrate him.

521 Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize
562 women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously,
831 need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given
577 to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the
intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manli-
ness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a
woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

562 The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern
577 of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but comple-
828 mentary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and
pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolu-
tion but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame,
modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend
this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total com-
munity. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or
sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with
violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage
of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

562 If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior.
828 The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God
783 for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has
[1979] been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains
noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality,
for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the
power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the
struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological
basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disci-
562 plined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an
783 unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of
833 alignment' (ἀνάπαιδο). In some way it pollutes (μαρναίξει).
After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his
hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ιερό

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πᾶμα), and παρμάρα, a disease which attacks the udder of the sheep, is often attributed to the omission of this precaution. Another illustration of this idea of pollution is the prohibition of sexual intercourse on the eve, or the day, of an important religious festival. Sexual activity is necessary in that it produces children, who are God's children, but evil in that some sensuality is unavoidable. It must be performed in the utmost secrecy, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passive. It is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body. 562 783 833 [834]

In this situation, where man is noble (as indeed he must be in a system of values that puts stress upon the concept of honour), but where certain aspects of his propagation are matters for shame, the discomfort of inconsistency is avoided in a kind of sexual dualism. If man is nearly all nobility, a natural predisposition to evil (κακία) is the most striking feature of the female character. She is above all cunning, especially in the sense that her cunning involves the corruption of another, that is the man. She is a constant threat to his honour. Πονηρός, cunning, is typically the adjective which also describes the Devil, and the Sarakatsani believe that the Devil has a hold over women who are his peculiar emissaries dispatched to provoke men's hearts with sexual passions. Thus the whole burden of the shame of sexual relations is shifted on to the female sex. Since her powers of sexual attraction are of this supernatural order, man, in general, is unable to resist them. It is simply the quality in a woman of being a woman which inflames the man. She may lure him to disaster without even a glance or a gesture. Once he advances on her she has not the strength to resist him. In the Sarakatsan view, the power of woman's sexuality, the weakness of her will, and the physical strength of a man, are the important factors involved in sexual activity. It is for these reasons that the individual woman is expected by her kinsmen to have 'shame', in the sense that in speech, gesture, attitude, and dress, she must, as far as possible, cloak the existence of this sexuality. For the same reasons the family watches over its women with the greatest care; especially in the case of an unmarried girl anxious eyes follow her if she must go to the well or collect firewood unaccompanied. 562 783 828 [834]

These beliefs about the sexes are accepted by the women as

562 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelli-
 828 gence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensa-
 tory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to
 deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that
 women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adul-
 tery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept
 it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the
 woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral in-
 feriority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind
 their men when they are together in public and show them
 respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the
 left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in
 every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they
 were not born into the other sex.

562 Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always
 828 open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The
 579 inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this
 [83] difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a
 quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost
 of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended
 through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons
 [559] who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of
 adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and
 as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has
 almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

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562 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted
 156 ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of
 561 the three stages of adult life.

884 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παῖδιά),
 826 the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an im-
 portant ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile,
 and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature.
 A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but with-
 out any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and
 [232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity
 is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd,
 579 especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to
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He was simple and innocent (ἀπλός καὶ ἀθώος); not simple in the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demetrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικά, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

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It is during these years of early manhood that the community begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

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The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

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888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
 156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
 577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
 [593] fied but quiet (*ἥσυχος*). He ought to be quiet in the very
 literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of
 his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order.
 Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and
 prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to
 acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his
 release from the worries and cares of leadership and the know-
 ledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour
 untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a
 sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will
 have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to
 be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be
 judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on
 the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no
 shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man
 of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children,
 or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the
 other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and
 good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed
 at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the
 practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with
 respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both
 the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious
 calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now
 near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral
 conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their
 generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
 884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
 582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage,
 generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six
 years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
 577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
 884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsi-
 831 bilities permits the young man to live according to the values of

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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pig-tails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνίσχελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

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828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour
577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the
596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they
[606] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the
596 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through
554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the community probably approves of her. When she is above sixty
[83] years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' (καθαρή ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic techniques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed
554 to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A
[184] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and
[174] remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to
[823] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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156 women do not go
157 out into the world and compete with one another. On the
562 contrary, their activities centre round the hearth where they
[602] ought to co-operate with their kinswomen and, if they are
married, with their sisters-in-law and the wives of the husband's
brothers. When a woman is said to have self-regard, this
generally refers to a touchy and unco-operative attitude with
other women in the extended family or co-operating group;
it is, then, not a quality for self-congratulation.

156 Conversely, where shame is the fear of failure or criticism
562 that demands a careful modest constrained demeanour, it is
[831] said that women have more shame than men. The Sarakatsani
point out that since it is the sexuality of women which provokes
men and not the reverse, women have the greater need to be
constantly restrained in their thoughts and actions by a sense
of sexual shame. Furthermore, since men must battle with one
another in the community and show craftiness in their dealings
with prominent and useful people outside its boundaries, it is
clear that the restrictive régime, which an extreme sense of
shame imposes on an individual, is incompatible with the
social role of the head of family who must generally assert
himself and on occasion for the sake of his family may even be
forced into questionable actions. This is not to say that a man
does not equally feel shame when he is judged to have failed.
It means, rather, that unlike a woman he cannot remain always
in a state of shame, in the sense of guarding against imminent
failure by a careful restriction of behaviour and movement.

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156 The fear of gossip and ridicule is closely related to the two
626 concepts of self-regard and shame. The prestige of an individual,
or a family, is constantly being evaluated and re-evaluated in
the community through gossip about personalities and events.
To be gossiped about is in most cases to be criticized adversely,
and since people enjoy this recreation they laugh at and ridicule
the object of their discussion. The knowledge, or the imagining,
of this ridicule and laughter is an important element in a man's
feelings of shame. For if the outside world judges him to be a
failure he has also failed to live up to his own ideal image of
himself which depends on success.

A SYSTEM OF VALUES

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opposition of the sexes. It is consistent with the radical character ¹⁵⁶ of this opposition that most virtues are sex-linked. Since the ⁵²⁷ sensuality of sex is a critical flaw in human nature, chastity ⁵⁶² becomes an important element in honour, around which those ^[P37] complementary virtues, the self-assertive qualities of the men, the modest constricted virtues of the women, are organized in defence. At the same time the moral superiority of the male sex in this opposition allows the main burden of the responsibility for original sin to be borne by the woman in a way that does not compromise the inherent nobility of man which is, necessarily, a premise of a system of values based on ideas of honour. And the complementary opposition of the two sexes and their ideal attributes allows the introduction of those quieter feminine virtues of love, modesty, and a disposition to co-operate, without inconsistency in relation to the self-assertive male values, and in the context of inner family life where they are most necessary to express the moral solidarity of the family and support those who face a hostile and competitive world.

The second relevant feature of social structure is the solidarity ¹⁵⁶ of the family, and the categorical nature of obligations between ⁵²⁷ its members. This solidarity is both active and passive. What-⁵⁹ever is done or suffered by one member equally affects the honour and shame of the others. No actor stands in isolation without reference to his membership in a family. He carries always a weight of representative responsibility when his actions are observed or even speculated on by others. And, on the other hand, the family is a small group in which there is no security of anonymity when other members fail. In these circumstances, where there is individual responsibility but no certainty of individual justice, important values are variations on the theme of strength and weakness, success and failure. Without self-confidence, prepotence, and skill, a man is 'lost' (*χαμένος*), morally as well as practically.

The relationships of hostility between families unconnected ⁵⁷⁷ by ties of kinship or marriage are the third feature of social ⁵⁷⁸ structure. They are oppositions consistent with a particular form of bilateral kinship system, and the absence of any forms of political or economic co-operation other than those based on relationship or patronage. These potentially destructive

828 in which he lives, and sometimes more seriously by the turning
771 of his free will away from God. God will come to a man's aid when he asks for it with a 'good heart', but he cannot enter the struggle unless a man wills it. It is upon this contingency that the Devil's opportunity and power depend.

776 The Sarakatsani believe that if a man is willing to deny
787 Christ and surrender his soul to the Devil almost any material favour is obtainable, poor men gain power and wealth, and sterile women have children. The Devil keeps a ledger in which these contracts are signed in blood. This is a somewhat melodramatic image of the general belief that any sudden or extraordinary material success can only be the result of communion with the Devil. In the world as it is, occasional dealings with the Evil One may be unavoidable, but too close a communion represents the surrender of the soul.

776 Similarly, sexual temptation by the Devil is expressed in
831 the belief that the Devil is able to have sexual intercourse with women in their sleep and that ladies of good luck, who are peculiarly beautiful even if their hair is sometimes in the form of snakes, try to entice lonely shepherds into 'marriage'. These, [287] generally, are the explanations accepted for erotic dreams in either sex.

776 One of the Devil's chief concerns is to corrupt those relationships of kinship and marriage which are instituted by God. 596 His success is, of course, more likely where there are inherent strains, particularly between the wives of brothers still living in an extended family, and sometimes between the brothers [287] themselves. When a man attacked and nearly strangled his brother, his kinsmen said, 'The Devil has entered into him' (μπήκε ο διάβολος μέσα) and they meant this in a quite literal [235] sense. When the shepherds hear of a case of father-daughter incest among the villagers of Thesprotia, they only understand this enormity as a plot of the Devil.

776 It must be emphasized that the sins into which a man is led
783 by the Devil's temptation always possess a certain reference to external agency. If a man has sinned in a way not easily understandable it is said, 'The Devil pushed him' (τον έσπρωξε ο διάβολος). A man, by not placing his whole trust in God, inclines his desires towards material and sensual attachments. He is, then, as it were, physically unable to resist the Devil

THE WAYS TO GOD

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The root of the involvement of the Sarakatsani in these dramatic happenings lies in the simple belief constantly reiterated, especially by the women on the Friday, that 'he died for us'. They identify themselves with the sufferings of Christ because He has identified Himself with them. In becoming a man like themselves He asserted the essential nobility of man. In His death, His blood effected a union between man and God which overcame the separating barrier of ancestral sin. His resurrection has for the Sarakatsani the paradoxical significance that He lives to die again; for, particularly in the events of the Great Week each year, and more generally in the sacrament of the Eucharist, He continually performs the miracle anew. In the cry, 'Christ is risen', is the knowledge that His liberating blood will always be at hand to save men from abandonment to the Devil. 771 776 796

The role of Christ in this situation, like those of the Mother of God and the Saints in the everyday cult, is that of intercessor. But in this instance the act is on the cosmic scale, not merely a partial and external relationship effected by a Saint between a particular individual and God. It is the reconciliation of all men to God and to one another. The fitness of Christ for this role lies in his origin from God the Father on the one hand and His human mother on the other. 'He was a man, then, like us' it is said both in folk tales and in comment upon the events of His life. From His mother the divine Son of God took on a condition in all respects like that of man, except that through His virgin birth he remained outside sin. Born of a virgin, a virgin in His life, it needed the sacrifice of a Being, divine, human, exposed to sin yet untouched by it, to bring man and God together.

The Sarakatsani understand well the efficacy of virginity. It is a condition which, temporarily at least, defies the corruption of age and death. As it has been suggested in the discussion of prestige values, the time of moral excellence in a man's life is the period of youthful manhood before his marriage, when he is free to live by the ideal standards of honour and when, also, he is ignorant of the sexuality of woman which is one consequence, in a world of sin, of the division of humanity into two sexes. As the virginity of the Sarakatsan youth or maiden is a partial and individual attempt to deny the consequences of [797] 831 527 884

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THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

But men are also divided from God and from one another by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brotherhood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

585 groom, flanked by his comrades, came to claim
the bride and lead the first dance. She was ref from her shadows, conducted downstairs and out under the trees as the sun set at the end of the valley.

585 Her husband conducted her through an ex-
535 tremely formal *syrtos*, followed by a *kalamatiano*, each taking alternate places at the head of a dozen guests strung out, with linked hands, in a crescent. Neither looked at the other, and there was a distinct hint of constraint in the air — no wonder, since, though they came from neighboring summer pastures, it was quite likely they had never met before. Their marriage was as free of private choice as a medieval dynastic alliance between a Wittelsbach and a Hohenstaufen.

585 It is hard not to wonder about the early phases of primitive marriages all over Greece; the shuddering apprehension which must prevail on the one hand and the unmaning strangeness on the other. Till very recently, in the Mani, so inhibiting was the shyness of newly wed strangers that a sword was placed under their pillow in the hopes that it might symbolically sunder this knot of constraint in one Gordian slash. These handicaps must have been made all the more debilitating, in former times, by gloomy preoccupations with the previous inviolacy of the bride, and the long vigil of the guests outside the nuptial dwelling till the groom's mother could blazon forth the all-clear in red on white — to an outburst of salvos and of rustic epithalamiums — on a gory sheet or a shift. In these strict and moral societies, such proofs were surely redundant; but I have heard of Cretan bridegrooms — convinced, and probably baselessly, that others have been beforehand with them — repudiating their brides and unloosing, as though in compensation, unstanchable bloodshed between families. And what about the poor bridegroom? Would the flood tide of wine swirl him triumphantly through all obstacles, or unmast him amidships? No wonder they looked shy.

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[202] Young Sarakatsans now do their military service like the rest of Greeks and no doubt head for the lanes on the outskirts of garrison towns on mating forays with their fellow recruits. But formerly, [834] living in a ferociously chaste society, they approached wedlock unarmed by all but theory, hearsay, and rule of thumb.

585 H ER two dances over, the bride withdrew to her
535 chamber, and more general dancing began. It was uncomplicated, formal, and correct. Plenty of the younger Sarakatsans were well on in wine and had been so for days, but their dash and high spirits deserted them the moment they joined the

585 The Sarakatsanias usually so riot in the
 521 presence of men, look forward to weddings as
 631 their only chances of fun. The talk takes a turn
 [362] of hair-raising bawdiness. None of the exciting,
 comic, or absurd aspects of sex are left unex-
 ploited. Rhymes, anecdotes, and reminiscences
 are eagerly repeated and capped, crone mumbles
 toothlessly to crone, bantering wives make humor-
 ously boastful and teasing comparisons about their
 married lives, girls listen wide-eyed and agog.
 [152] Fits of laughter punctuate this scandalous chat,
 hands are flung in the air in hilarity, faces are
 covered in mock shame. All this goes on out of
 male earshot, while at a distance their husbands
 and fathers and descendants smile indulgently
 at this seasonable ribaldry.

585 NIGHTFALL had transformed the scene indoors.
 123 Late arrivals and a few indefatigable ones were
 [359] still at meat; but the rest, lit now by scattered oil
 dips, had lapsed into a semitrance of wine and
 song. Our return with Uncle Petro evoked hos-
 pitable cries of greeting and invitation, repeated
 many times and driven home by a clashing of wine
 tumblers, to stay the night, as it was so late; or for
 a week, a month, or a year, or forever, to forget
 London and take to the huts. Alas, some tiresome
 fixture in Alexandroupolis next morning com-
 pelled us to leave, so, after manifold farewells, we
 climbed the stairs to pay our respects to the bride
 in her hushed upper chamber.

The rushlight on a stool cast so dim a light that
 the group at the end was hard to discern. One
 of the seated bridesmaids, mown down by her
 vigil, was fast asleep where she sat; a nudge from
 her neighbor shook her blinking into line. None
 of the other tiring women had moved, and the
 bride had remained frozen for the hours since
 we had last seen her in the same posture of sub-
 mission. The faint radiance seemed to have
 robbed them all of a dimension. Darkly haloed
 by their own interlocking shadows, they merged
 with the wall, their black and white figures assum-
 ing the aspect of a half-lit fresco, with here and
 there an earring, a coin, a bracelet, a ring, or a
 necklace glittering momentarily and dimming
 again, as the wick rose or fell, like fragments of gilt
 or isolated gold tesserae in a mosaic. The bride
 silently bowed in answer to our farewells, miracu-
 lously moving among her still hagiographic troop
 of virgins and martyrs. We tiptoed out.

"Doesn't she ever speak?" I asked Uncle Petro
 when we were out of doors.

"Not now," he said.

"It's rather sad, during her own wedding."

"Ah! That's the way it is. That's how it should
 be."

[p. 81-B]

776 spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evil-doing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

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[825] Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these prettexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tselingas* son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these [252] are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking [787] into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

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280 The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaras*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
 522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
 831 enacted within. But the groom was forced wanting
 and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered
 with apparent promise; and each one in turn was
 [533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was dis-
 covered at last, and during a final mime of tri-
 umphant bawdiness, the entire company danced
 around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the
 dancers alternately banging their noses and their
 rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I
 would give much to observe.

851 THE feast of St. George is the most propitious
 553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
 [794] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
 [775] tized. But they are always named at once, and
 should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism
 163 on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
 848 vampires. The average family varies between
 [684] five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
 adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are un-
 known, and should a case of bastardy ever crop
 up, death to all concerned is the only remedy.
 This is not only for reasons of morality, for these
 [725] ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
 sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should
 one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p. 84 A]

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585 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world,"
602 surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that
848 everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her
562 descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.
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585 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure,
602 let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in
the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of
(342) the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody
sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that
the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the
833 sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the
602 family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the
family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the
newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs
unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the
matter.

597 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework
834 of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions,
831 especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine,
(593) started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons,
despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an
extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic
rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this),
is not a simple and easy act.

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2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology
et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f.

said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

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The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward

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577 elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection
577 that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that
577 requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

577 As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs
577 to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation
577 on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is
577 obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

577 As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has
577 been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indis-
577 pensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation,
577 it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with

577 patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and
577 friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day
577 become a resistance fighter /máquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

(648) This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn
child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts
against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the
rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced
brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to
banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might
recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological
importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals
/cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology
/cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts
it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

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(114) animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes
3. Ibid., A.I. p. 100. ---A statement that our own observations
have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male
one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The
deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial.
(775) And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God,
(762) "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of
wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in
the ground.

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(825) Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as
an amulet.

(128) If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because
we intend to discuss them all together.

842 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the
821 Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personify-
823 ing the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility.
825 All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible
in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

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372 4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the
bibliography. /previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortality;
(6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its
skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

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823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)

171 although according to N. HOATHE: *Amoyanand*, T.B.

844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the
dead.--According to the physician: ΣΠΑΝΟΣ: *Hept yonastion*.

p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--

c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child
on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the
muscles of the little one and its body will be strong."

A. SPONTHI: *Amoyanand Pidos*, p. 568.

392 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished

to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jean-
marie: *Ibid.*, p. 387-6. According to ΒΑΓΙΤΑΡΧΟΥ: *Amoyanand*, 15,
for Greece, and Virgil: *Aeneid*, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of
fire was considered efficacious against evil influences.

According to Przyluski: *Ibid.*, p. 144, the custom of new fire
at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates
nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is
to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire,"
the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male,"
the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly,
in Leukas (Greek island), N. HATEA: *Amoyanand*,

p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing
properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but
note the custom, in Macedonia and Thrac, of lighting the healing
fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to

171 ΑΠΙΕΤΟΤΡΑΦΕ: *Terapia Sclera*, II, 12

[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

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character of a sexual symbol because of its connection with women.-- HAYEANIAE: Παρθένος

11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc.

According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house « οἰκουμένης ἑστίας.

M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure « ἑστίας Ζεὺς.

[842]

Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G. Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the rôle of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

• ΚΟΤΚΟΥΛΑΙ: Παλαιὸν βιβλ. γ' VI, p. 244.

c) Modern Greece:

K. XATZHIKANNOT: Ἐθνος Κίπρου. • ΚΟΤΚΟΥΛΑΙ:

Ibid., p. 243.

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We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion

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accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

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843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the universal-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls. In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

529 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and feliki--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

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233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789 vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.

[531] The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having
to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material
cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)

[716] 27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the
goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She
ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters.
--See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[529] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual

[711] 28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are
very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are
practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani,
see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his
citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims
to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females,
productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
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[535] she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

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33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali gives us a good description of this rite: *Ibid.*, A. I. p. 77. Similar practices are found almost all over Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: *Ελληνική Ήγρη*, the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peloponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: *The modern Carnival in Thrace* /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: *Dionysos*, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: *Cultes Populaires de Thrace*, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed

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(789) /260 cont./

against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali:
Ibid., A. I. 55-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

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(71) Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion

/cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely.

Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

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539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for
forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the
threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
(M) richtologos (76)
(55)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person
(Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic
practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science
from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent
an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social
structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani
or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery
of the animals.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.

784 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, the married woman is doubly

831 dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.

833 A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,

233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will

784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-

374 ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our
attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from

784 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the
other.

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182 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tseligato.

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182 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of 462 the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect. 562

796 We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of (796) dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it (831) is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

(291) 122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude, word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

(233) As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitates immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

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562 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts:
462 it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms;
791 and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,